

Today

Music, discussions and exhibits this month

Feb. 4: Internal Revenue Service Black History Month Brunch, Ogden Hilton, Ogden. 8:30 a.m.

"Diggers," a moving and sometimes humorous documentary about black men of the West Indies, workers on the Panama Canal, with discussion by Dr. Forrest Crawford, SLC Public Library, 209 E. 500 South. Free, 7 p.m.

Feb. 7: Utah State Board of Education's Education for Black Student's Advisory Council is holding a workshop for black senior high school students at Calvary Baptist Church, SLC, and again Feb 14 at the Second Baptist Church, Ogden. 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. both days.

Feb 8: Bob Lyman Jr. in a special Paul Robson performance, New Pilgrim Baptist Church, SLC, 3 p.m.

Feb. 9-24: "Ten Afro-American Quilters", national quilts made by local blacks as well, Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, SLC.

Feb. 9-13: Ogden City and the Weber State College Black Scholars United celebrate Black History Month and in particular the achievements of black women, at Union Station, Ogden. Includes an art exhibit each day, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.:

Feb. 9: Dedication ceremony, 5 p.m.

Feb. 10: Alpha Psi fashion show 6 p.m.

Feb. 11: "Black Women Inventors," a lecture by Dr. Forrest Crawford, noon. The band, "Fad Dancers," 6 p.m., followed by keynote speaker, Betty Moore.

Feb. 12: The Blues, with singers Giles Jefferson, Peggie Rosibia, Darnel Haney, and Shauna Graves. 6 p.m.

Feb. 13: Song Fest with gospel choirs from local churches and Utah State University. 6 p.m.

Feb. 18: "Utah's Black Legacy," KUED, Channel 7. 9 p.m.

Feb. 19: Community leader recognition luncheon, sponsored by Black Scholars United, Union Building Skyroom, Weber State College, Ogden.

Feb. 22: Utah State University Gospel Choir in concert at the New Pilgrim Baptist Church, SLC. 3 p.m.

Feb. 26: Gospel singer James Cleveland in concert at



Arthur Alfonso Schomburg

Fairgrounds Colosseum. 8 p.m.

Reception at Historical Society in conjunction with Afro-american quilt show. Salt Lake. 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Feb. 28: Governor's Black Advisory Council hosts Annual Scholarship and Awards Banquet. This year a tribute to black law enforcement officers.

To obtain a wall calendar featuring important moments in black history: politics, sports, education, and culture, send \$2 to BLACK HISTORY CALENDAR, Aetna Life and Casualty, DA23, 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, CT 06156.



Nat Love "Deadwood Dick," cowboy (1854-1921)

February: Contribution of blacks to nation

By Susan Lyman
Deseret News staff writer

2-4-87

February is National Black History Month. Started in 1926 by Dr. Carter G. Woodson as a week's observance of the birthdays of Frederick Douglass (Feb. 14) and Abraham Lincoln (Feb. 12), the holiday evolved into a month-long reminder of the contributions black people made to this nation.

But you could pick any month, actually, and find it full of meaning for a people seeking their place in America.

Take May, for instance.

On the first of May, 1946, Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement was named Mother of the Year. She was the first black woman ever to receive that honor.

Later in the month: Willie Mays was born May 6, 1931. On the 12th, in 1910, the NAACP was founded. Stevie Wonder and Joe Louis share a May 13 birthday. On the 17th, in 1954, the Supreme Court declared segregation unconstitutional in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. Civil rights leader Malcolm X was born May 19, 1925. On the 26th, in 1961, the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee was established in Atlanta, Ga.

On the 27th, actor Lou Gossett was born and, in 1942, a black man named Dorie Miller was awarded the Navy Cross of Courage. Singer Gladys Knight was born on the 28th. On the 30th, in 1903, poet Countee Cullen was born and Vivian Malone, in 1965, became the first black graduate of the University of Alabama.

Each person, each event opened a door the smallest bit more.

And to think a teacher once told Arthur Alfonso Schomburg that blacks have no history.

Fortunately, Schomburg, a young black man, knew better. In fact, he had already started collecting anecdotes, pamphlets,

books — beginning a collection that would be a lifelong passion.

Schomburg was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1874. He went to school there and in the Danish West Indies. Often, as he was growing up, he found himself in debates with white students who argued their racial superiority.

To counter their claim, Schomburg had learned the history of Puerto Rican blacks — people like artist Jose Campeche, whose portraits had caused a stir even in the sophisticated art circles of Rome. And like Rafael Cordero, a poor cigar maker who was a pioneer in education on the island.

Eventually, Schomburg became the foremost collector of black history in his day; he was both a scholar and a folklorist. By working at a New York City bank, Schomburg was able to finance his searches throughout the United States, Latin America and Europe.

He saw the value of every scrap of history — from a book of Zulu nursery rhymes printed in the Bantu language to a sermon on slavery delivered by an ex-slave. By 1926, when his collection was purchased by the New York Public Library for \$10,000, Schomburg had collected 5,000 books, 3,000 manuscripts, 2,000 etchings and several thousand pamphlets.

Schomburg was like the black people he chronicled. Like the cowboys and merchants, doctors and explorers, soldiers and teachers — his work wasn't well known outside his own culture. When he died in 1938, he was writing a book to explain how it was that his people, who had contributed so much to America's heritage and were so active in the struggle for their own freedom, were overlooked so often.

He concluded that Negroes of attainment and genius were regarded as exceptional. Instead of reflecting honor on their race, they weren't thought of as Negroes.

His collection, housed in Harlem, has been

renamed the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. It now contains about 100,000 books, art objects, sheet music, photographs, magazines, and newspapers. The center is an important historical repository and a memorial to a generous and tireless man.

Due to the efforts of black historians such as Woodson and Schomburg, there are now countless books on black history. To look at such a book is to marvel, once again, at how a whole population was for so many years left out of standard American history texts.

Have you heard of Paul Cuffe, for instance? In the late 1700s he was a wealthy shipping merchant and humanitarian. Cuffe founded a religious colony of American blacks in Sierra Leone, and was written about more often in European newspapers than in American.

Or how about Ellen Craft? She escaped slavery by disguising herself as a white man and returned to Georgia after the Civil War to open an Industrial School for blacks.

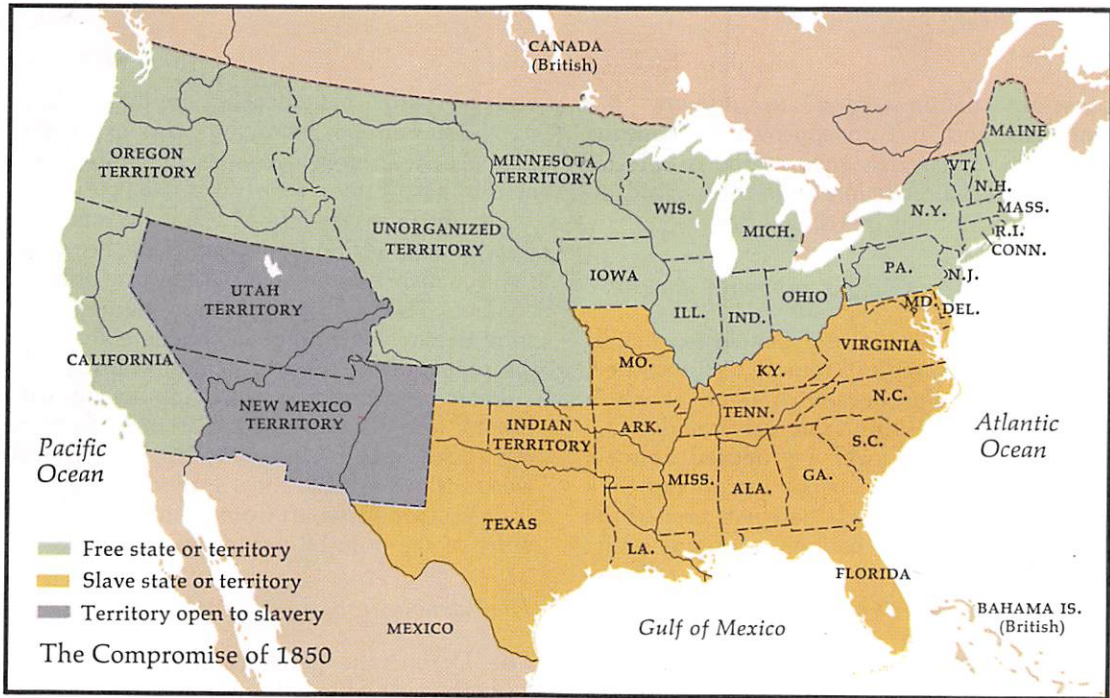
Or how about Negro Abraham, an interpreter and friend to the Seminole Indians in their ill-fated clashes with the U.S. government? Or Margaret Garner? In 1856, runaway slave Garner killed two of her children rather than have them returned to slavery. Later, after her remaining children were taken from her, she killed herself.

If the only black faces in your high school history book belonged to George Washington Carver and Nat Turner, February might be a good month to read another history. University of Utah professor Dr. Ronald Coleman suggests "From Slavery to Freedom," by John Holt Franklin.

It will explain why black history celebrations have flourished for 50 years. They've flourished because, as Arthur Schomburg wrote, "... Group tradition must supply compensation for persecution, and pride of race is the antidote for prejudice."



Unpublished photo from private collection shows engineer Walter Hall from Detroit, Mich. One of very few Civil War ambrotypes of black servicemen whose names are preserved.



Part of Clay's compromise plan was to have the United States government assume the pre-annexation debt of Texas. Texas was given \$10 million and, in turn, accepted a narrower boundary to its west.

it been created by the states, whose servant it remained? Or had it been created by the people of the United States as a whole when they ratified the Constitution? If the latter, then the federal government was no mere servant, but possessed life and power of its own. It could do more than carry out the wishes of the states. It could govern, within constitutional limits, in its own right.

The South eyes Cuba

In an effort to protect what they viewed as vital interests, Southerners sought to increase their political power through the creation of new slave states. To this end, they sought territory outside the United States as well as

the repeal of the Missouri Compromise banning slavery north of 36°30'. They were aided by the winner of the 1852 presidential election, Franklin Pierce. Pierce, a New Hampshire Democrat, sympathized with Southern fears and aspirations. He approved of an effort, backed by the South, to acquire Cuba, which could then be divided into several slave states.

When Spain refused to sell the island, three American diplomats met at Ostend, Belgium, to formulate a statement on the matter. Their work resulted in the Ostend Manifesto, a document in which they describe the national need for Cuba as sufficient to justify conquest of the island. The resulting roar of disapproval from the North forced the voter-

conscious administration to disavow the manifesto and its own approval of acquiring Cuba. The mere existence of the manifesto, however, had already intensified suspicion and resentment in both North and South.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act promotes slavery

As Cuba faded from the headlines, Kansas replaced it. Though still remote and unsettled, the Kansas plains became a point at which Northern and Southern interests collided.

The clash began over a proposed railroad. There was pressing need for a rail link between California and the roads east of the Mississippi, and the national economy could stand construction of only one railroad. Southerners, realizing the political and economic advantages of a tie with California, worked to make sure that the route chosen was a southern one. At the direction of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a Mississippian, army engineers surveyed a route between California and Memphis, Tennessee. This led to the purchase in 1853 of a small strip of land from Mexico, the Gadsden Purchase.

Northern interests, however, wanted to see a rail route linking California with Chicago. Senator Douglas of Illinois spoke for these Northern interests in Congress. Douglas believed that the areas through which this route would run should be organized as territories with duly established governments. In order to attract needed Southern political support for this northern rail link to Chicago, he promised slavery expansionists an escape from the restrictive provisions of the Missouri Compromise in the new territories along its route. He introduced a bill calling for the creation of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and included a popular-sovereignty clause—the proposed territories would become free or slave states at the discretion of their voters. In sponsoring this bill, Douglas

was not only maneuvering in behalf of a northern railroad route, but also expressing his belief that more decisions should be made at the state rather than the federal level. In 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law. Rather than having settled anything, however, the act merely intensified American political conflict. The railroad question became lost amid debates over what had become, in effect, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Proslavery interests were jubilant. Northerners who had assumed that the Northern territories were permanently closed to slavery were furious at what they termed the betrayal of the sacred Missouri Compromise. Again the unity of the political parties was shaken.

The Republican party is born

The Democratic party, though its members were bitterly divided on the slavery issue, managed to survive as a national organization. The Whigs were less fortunate. They split into Northern and Southern factions and then disintegrated. Southern members joined the Democrats. Northerners joined the numerous local groups which combined in 1854 to form the Republican party.

There was something hopeful about this new Republican party, and something ominous. Its promise lay in its members' unanimous opposition to the spread of slavery. This made it, however, a strictly Northern party without hope or intention of attracting Southerners. The result was that only one national party now existed where but a short time before there had been two, and this made the political bonds holding the Union together that much weaker.

"Bleeding Kansas" stirs the nation

The popular sovereignty formula for determining the future of Kansas touched off a race to populate the area with sympathetic voters.

During the 1860 campaign most people seemed unaware that the future of the Union was at stake. Many Northerners knew of Southern threats to leave the Union if Lincoln became the next president, but they had heard similar threats since 1850, and indeed since 1832. Southern Democratic

candidate Breckinridge himself denied that he viewed secession as the answer to a Republican victory. Other Southerners, however, were in earnest. They felt that the Republican campaign position was a prelude to destroying slavery everywhere, and with it the Southern way of life.

Lincoln's election triggers secession by the angry South

The November election returns gave Lincoln a clear majority of the electoral votes, and hence the presidency. Lincoln's election had been strictly sectional. He did not receive a single popular vote in a number of Southern states. His total popular vote was less than 40 percent.

In response, Southerners began to make good their threats of secession. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina formally withdrew from the Union. By February, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed suit. These states acted on the assumption that the Union was a loose confederation which states could enter and leave at will.

These Southern decisions for secession were not unanimous. Southerners who remained loyal to the Union claimed that the issue had been forced too quickly to enable them to organize the antisecessionists. Meanwhile, lame-duck President Buchanan stood by helplessly. He believed that states could constitutionally secede, but that they ought not to.

The governments of the seceded states, seeing themselves as independent political units, seized control of federal buildings, arsenals, and dockyards. In January, 1861, when the federal War Department sent a supply vessel to its Fort Sumter garrison, located on an island in the harbor of

Charleston, South Carolina, cannon fire from the shore turned the ship back. Officially, war had not yet been declared, but this first violence occurred even before Lincoln took office in March, 1861.

The South forms a confederacy

In February, 1861, representatives from the seven self-proclaimed independent states assembled in Montgomery, Alabama, to form a Southern union. Virginia's remaining within the federal Union worried secession leaders, who tried to lure her into the Confederacy with the promise that Richmond would be its capital city.

The Montgomery convention wrote a constitution for the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi its president. The Confederate Constitution was closely patterned after the federal Constitution. There were, however, significant changes. The Preamble was revised to read that the sovereign states and not the people of the Confederacy had created the central government, and that these states reserved vast powers for themselves.

The federal Constitution's Bill of Rights was incorporated into the body of the Confederate document, but the president's term was changed to a single one of six years. Slave owners were guaranteed the right to

move their slaves anywhere within the Confederacy and assured a minimum of legal difficulty in regaining runaways who had managed to cross state lines. In most other respects, the federal and Confederate constitutions were virtually identical.

When in March, 1861, Lincoln took the presidential oath of office, he became officially responsible for a complex problem over which men of greater political experience were only wringing their hands. In his inaugural address, Lincoln made it clear that he believed the Union to be a perpetual one from which no state could constitutionally withdraw. He made it clear, too, that he felt bound by his presidential oath to preserve the Union.

Lincoln pursues a firm course

The task before Lincoln was awesome. He had little experience in national politics. He had not been the first choice of his party, and many people expected that he would be a mere figurehead for Republican party leaders like Seward. The often threatened secession of a group of states had become a fact, and Lincoln's election had triggered it. Federal officials had been expelled from Southern states, federal properties had been seized, and the United States flag had been fired upon. Many of the most promising army and navy officers were resigning their federal commissions for service with their native Southern states.

The immediate crisis facing Lincoln was Fort Sumter. South Carolina authorities, seeing it as an alien garrison, were trying to starve it into surrender. Lincoln explained the matter to his Cabinet advisers and then asked a brief but tremendously significant question: Should the federal government make another effort to send ships to the fort? The Cabinet reply was no. The members reasoned that another attempt could well lead to war between the federal and Confederate

governments. Such a conflict, they argued, would destroy all possibility of antisectionists winning future elections in the South and might not be supported by the Northern public. They feared, in addition, that war might trigger a widespread and bloody slave rebellion. However strongly they condemned slavery, they had no desire to see a war between the black and the white races.

The final decision was, of course, the president's. After pondering the matter for several days, he announced his intention of sending the supplies. The announcement served two purposes. It informed the Cabinet that he intended to dominate the administration. And it called upon the Confederates to demonstrate the seriousness of their move. Lincoln informed them of his plans to send an unescorted relief expedition to Sumter. In so doing, he handed them the decision of whether or not to fire upon unarmed vessels and so begin a full-scale armed conflict with the federal government.

Southerners fire on Fort Sumter

Southern officials, viewing both the federal presence at Sumter and the relief expedition as invasions, chose to attack Sumter. When on April 12, 1861, the supply ships sighted the fort, it was already under bombardment. The ships turned back. After returning fire for a few hours, the helpless garrison at Fort Sumter surrendered.

Lincoln defined the Southern action at Sumter as armed revolt against legitimate authority and called for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion. In the North, his action was loudly cheered. In the South, his action touched off a wave of enthusiasm for the Confederacy. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, unwilling to join in an armed attack on the Confederacy, also severed their ties with the Union, and the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery to Richmond. Americans were

On July 1, 1862, Confederate General James Longstreet, hoping to continue recent Confederate victories, launched a headlong assault against the Federal positions at Malvern Hill, Virginia. Another Confederate general later commented bitterly of the assault that it was not war, but murder. Over five thousand Confederate soldiers fell under the guns of the Union army at Malvern Hill. Listed among those killed was the young Georgian below, a volunteer whose name was Edwin Jennison.



military service. Most of these were from Southwestern tribes which practiced Negro slavery and so fought for the Confederacy, but the Iroquois of New York and adjoining states served the North. Seneca Chief Eli Parker, whose tribe was part of the Iroquois nation, became military secretary to the general-in-chief of the Federal forces.

Black soldiers fight in major campaigns

From the beginning of the war, Northern blacks demanded acceptance into the Federal army. In this they were supported by abolitionists and also by those who felt that black enlistments would decrease their own chances of having to serve. There was opposition, however, from such men as Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, who spoke for many when he stated that the war would be won with white troops. Though an abolitionist, Stanton doubted the Negro's worth as a soldier.

By 1863, manpower shortages compelled the Union army to begin enrolling Indians and Negroes. The blacks, however, were put into segregated units commanded by white officers, and were for a time paid less than white and Indian soldiers. By the end of the war, more than 100,000 Negroes wore the Union blue. Blacks participated in most of the major campaigns after 1863. Shortages of men also forced the Confederate government to enlist Negroes, but the war ended before the black Confederate units could be readied for combat.

Financing the war

Supplying the troops and financing the war were major problems in both the North and the South. Despite the loss of men to the armed services, both sections increased agricultural production. The hunger which often stalked Confederate troops was primarily due to the South's inability to maintain its railroads. While Southern industry was far less developed than Northern, Confederate



Following the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln, the government began to enlist blacks in the Federal army. These men are part of the 107th U.S. Colored Infantry. Though many of the enlisted blacks never saw action, toward the end of the war this group did.

troops generally went into battle well armed. Weapons captured from the Federals, imported from Europe, and produced in their own factories were sufficient for their needs.

War hastens mass production

Wartime production problems were met in ways which hastened America's transformation into an industrial nation. Mass-production techniques were applied to the production not only of weapons, but of uniforms, blankets, and preserved food. Builders of the Federal ironclad ship *Monitor*, faced with a tight completion deadline, abandoned the traditional shipbuilder's technique of doing all work at the construction site and instead contracted with separate firms for components which were then transported to the shipyard for assembly.

To meet the costs of the war, both governments increased old taxes and levied new

ones. The federal government raised tariff rates and instituted an income tax. Both governments borrowed money from their people through the sale of bonds. When these methods proved inadequate, both resorted to printing paper money.

Dealing with dissent

Neither the Confederacy nor the federal government enjoyed the full support of its people, and both were forced to suspend traditional legal procedures in critical areas, substituting military forces and tribunals for the police and the civil courts. The Deep South was plagued by guerrilla bands of bandits and pro-Federal Southerners who preyed on isolated plantations and poorly guarded payrolls. Many in western Virginia opposed secession and fought in Union forces. Western Virginians separated themselves from the rest

of the state and in 1863 West Virginia was admitted to the Union.

Many people in Missouri and Maryland—slave states which had nevertheless remained in the Union—and many former Southerners living in the states along the north bank of the Ohio River were actively pro-Confederate and performed acts of espionage and sabotage against Federal installations. Other Northerners simply opposed the use of force against the Confederacy. Some of these fled to Canada to avoid military service. Others worked to unseat the Lincoln administration and replace it with one which would end the war, even at the price of sacrificing the Union.

Lincoln settles the Vallandigham case

While many of Lincoln's critics accused him of being a military dictator, he used his extraordinary wartime powers carefully. He was well aware of the difficulty of distinguishing active disloyalty to the Union from criticism of the administration. He was aware, too, of the danger of creating martyrs. Such was the case of Clement L. Vallandigham, a well-known Ohio Copperhead, or critic of Lincoln's war policy. In 1863, Vallandigham was arrested by military authorities because he had publicly charged both that the war was unnecessary and that it was being waged not to save the Union, but to free the Negroes and to establish tyranny over Southern whites. When Vallandigham's supporters failed to rescue him from custody, they rioted, cutting telegraph lines and burning a newspaper office. Naturally, Confederate agents encouraged such actions in the hope that the Union could be still further divided.

Lincoln handled the Vallandigham case in masterful fashion. Instead of allowing Vallandigham to be sentenced to prison, he ordered him deported to the Confederacy. Then, sensing that Vallandigham's popularity was less than his own, Lincoln simply ignored

him when he continued to attack the administration.

Wartime politics divides the North

Wartime politics in both the North and the South had unusual intensity. Though the Confederacy was spared the turmoil of a presidential election, it suffered friction between the state and the central government itself. State governors took full advantage of the position accorded the states under the Confederate Constitution, and treated the Confederate government much as the original thirteen states had treated the Continental Congress during the War of American Independence. In practice this meant that they supported the war effort if they wanted to do so, but not because they had to.

Opponents attack Lincoln

In the North, President Lincoln was under constant political attack by the antiwar groups which had gained control of the Democratic party. He was denounced, too, by those fellow Republicans who resented his grip, at the expense of Congress, on the policy-making initiative and who challenged his stated war aim of simply preserving the Union. Lincoln's position was more vulnerable than that of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Lincoln had to think not only of winning the war, but of winning the 1864 presidential election as well.

Winning the war called for keeping the strategically important states of Maryland and Missouri within the Union. Both were slave states, and in order to avoid antagonizing their populations, Lincoln long refused to acknowledge abolition as a part of his war aim. When General John C. Frémont, military commander in Missouri, decreed freedom for the slaves of men aiding the Confederacy, Lincoln infuriated abolitionists by counter-

manding the order. He explained himself in a letter to Horace Greeley, an influential New York editor.

My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union.

Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation

Convinced of the correctness of this position, Lincoln tried to keep the direction of the war a monopoly of his office. At the same time, he had the wisdom to know when to give ground. As the war moved through its second year, he became increasingly aware of falling Northern morale and of his own declining popularity. He was also impressed by the Northern public's enthusiasm for Congress's wartime abolition several months earlier of slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia. With these things in mind, he decided upon a dramatic move, a presidential Emancipation Proclamation.

With the border states securely held by Federal troops, Lincoln in September, 1862, proclaimed that on January 1, 1863, slaves held in areas listed as in rebellion would be declared free. The proclamation did not affect slavery in loyal areas. In fact, it freed few slaves, since its effectiveness was limited to areas under Federal military control. Still, it gave the war a new tone, making it a moral crusade. However limited its immediate application, Lincoln's proclamation created a situation



One of the gimmicks used in the 1864 presidential campaign was this Lincoln lantern, which was carried in parades in New York City. Other campaign devices of the era included badges, medals, posters, cartoons, and even a children's game.'

from which there could be no turning back: Federal military success would spell the doom of slavery everywhere in the nation.

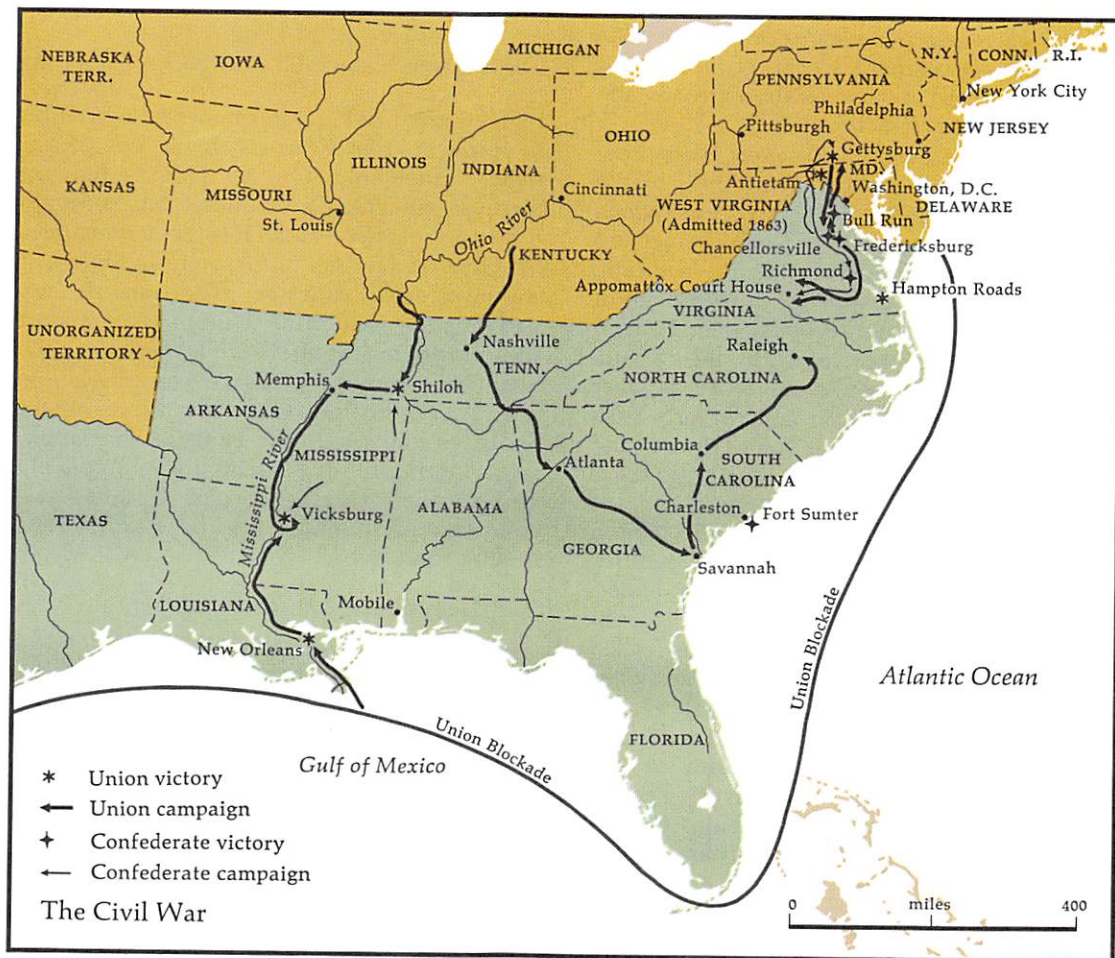
Lincoln and Johnson win the 1864 election

The Emancipation Proclamation, combined with news of Federal military success in the Deep South, raised Lincoln's popularity and enabled him, in 1864, to win his party's

endorsement for a second term. The Republicans, attempting to generate a nonpartisan appeal and promote Northern unity by calling themselves the National Union party, crossed traditional party lines to run the pro-Union military governor of Tennessee, Democrat Andrew Johnson, for the vice-presidency.

The Democratic party on the other hand, tried to capitalize on the widespread opposi-

Union strategy called for getting the South in a stranglehold—to cut off supplies and to capture Richmond, capital of the Confederacy. Notice the number of battles that occurred in Virginia, on the way to Richmond.



tion to the war by calling for an immediate negotiated end to the struggle. Their candidate was George McClellan, a general recently removed by Lincoln for incompetence. Democratic chances for victory were hurt by Jefferson Davis's statement that the Confederacy would not consider a negotiated

peace and by continued Federal military victories which promised a foreseeable end to the war. When the voting was over and the election returns were complete, it was clear that Lincoln had won a mandate from the Northern states to continue his leadership of the Union.

A prolonged shooting war brings Northern victory

At first glance, Federal might far surpassed that of the Confederates. The twenty-three loyal states had a population of 22,000,000 and the eleven seceded states only 9,000,000. Industries and shipyards were concentrated in the North; so, too, were the railroads and the major gold-producing areas.

Confederate leaders, however, were confident of military victory. The South would be fighting a primarily defensive war, which called for fewer troops than would be needed by the attacking Union armies. In addition, many of the top graduates of West Point were Southerners who resigned their Federal commissions for service with the South. Southern enlisted men were more familiar than were their Northern counterparts with hunting weapons and life out-of-doors, and the Southerners would be fighting on familiar ground.

When it became apparent to the Union leaders that they could not achieve a quick military victory, they inaugurated a policy, sometimes called the Anaconda Plan, of strangling the Confederacy. This plan called for throwing and tightening a great noose around the seceded states. Naval vessels blockaded the South's Atlantic and Gulf ports and cooperated with the army to gain control of the Mississippi River. Federal armies moved southward from bases stretching from the Potomac River westward. Union

leaders hoped that the economic shortages caused by the blockade, reinforced by military pressure, would hasten the end of the war.

The western theater: Grant tightens the noose

In 1862 the Confederates made a major effort to prevent the Federals from completing their stranglehold. On April 6 Confederate forces commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston surprised Federal forces commanded by General Ulysses S. Grant near Shiloh, in southwestern Tennessee. The surprise was so complete that many Union soldiers were shot down or captured while cooking their breakfasts. General Johnston was killed, however, and the resulting confusion in the Southern ranks gave the Federals a breathing spell. During the night Union reinforcements arrived. The following morning, Grant's forces counterattacked and sent the Confederates reeling southward.

The Confederacy tries delaying tactics

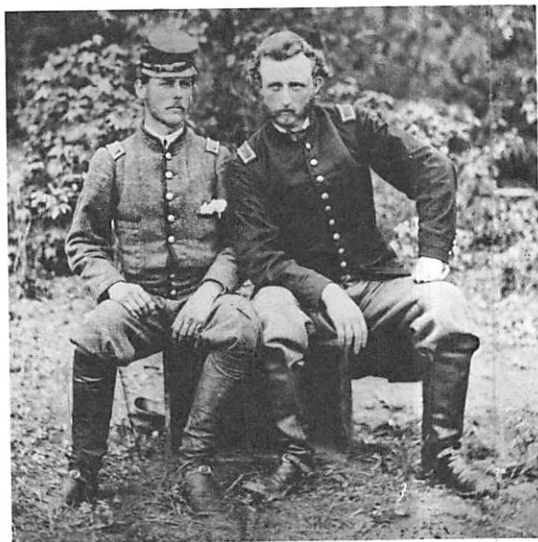
The failure of the South's aggressive tactics at Shiloh led the Confederate leaders to adopt a policy of sustained delay. They hoped that by dragging out the struggle they would cause the North such war-weariness that its people would force Lincoln's administration to end the struggle and recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

allowed his army to exhibit its true strength. His slow, cautious advance enabled the Confederates ample time to prepare a counter-attack, and they launched it when the Federals came within sight of Richmond. For several days there was fierce fighting. During the evenings lines of wagons rolled into Richmond to deposit the dead and dying in public buildings, in churches, and in the doorways of their

own homes. Then General Robert E. Lee, the Southern commander in chief, who only months earlier had refused Lincoln's offer of the Federal command, seized the offensive and forced the Federals back. Lincoln, whose disappointment was mixed with fear of a major Confederate attack on Washington, ordered McClellan to return to his base on the Potomac.

Grant's troops overrun the countryside in this scene from the siege of Vicksburg. Amid the privation and turmoil caused by the siege, a Vicksburg woman noted in her diary, "In the midst of all this carnage and commotion . . . birds are singing . . . flowers are in perfection . . . and the garden bright and gay . . . all save the spirit of man seems divine."





The resulting decline in morale in the North hastened Lincoln's decision to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all black slaves in the rebellious states. Lest the proclamation be considered an act of desperation, however, he withheld it until it could be accompanied by news of a Federal victory. When Lee's forces boldly raided northward, McClellan met them on September 17, 1862, at the Battle of Antietam. For a few hours McClellan had it in his power to destroy the Confederates, but again his lack of aggressiveness saved them. Although forced from the field, the Southerners withdrew in good order, still a dangerous fighting force. Lincoln claimed a smashing victory at Antietam (which he knew had not been achieved) and issued his Emancipation Proclamation. He also fired McClellan.

In rapid succession two men, Ambrose Burnside and Joseph Hooker, succeeded to command of the Army of the Potomac. Their orders were simple: Meet Lee's Army of Virginia and destroy it. But Lee was too much for either of them. First, he devastated Burnside's army at Fredericksburg. Then, when Hooker took command, Lee routed the Union forces at Chancellorsville. Within half a year, two more Federal commanders had proved themselves unworthy of the men they ordered into battle. The war in the east was a stalemate, and the Confederates' delaying tactics in the west kept the progress of Grant's army to a minimum as it crawled toward Vicksburg.

Lee gambles at Gettysburg

The spring of 1863 was one of gloom in Washington and gaiety in Richmond. The dismal showing thus far of the Union forces made Confederate politicians and editors certain that Southern military victory and recognition of the Confederacy were close at hand. Among Confederate leaders, however, there was one man who did not share

in the optimism: General Lee. As a military man, he realized only too well that, after years of effort, the Confederacy had really achieved little. It had been unable to break the slowly tightening Northern noose. News from the west told of Grant's steady, if unspectacular, advance toward Vicksburg. Northern industry had adjusted to wartime demands while Southern factories and railroads were falling into disrepair. Worse, the South was running out of able-bodied fighting men.

Almost in desperation, Lee launched another invasion of the North. He had several goals: to lure Federal troops away from Vicksburg, to capture needed supplies, and to increase Northern discontent with Lincoln's policies, thereby encouraging Northern peace movements. Lee's forces met those of General Gordon Meade at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. For two days the Confederates hurled themselves fruitlessly against the Union defenses. Then on July 4, 1863, even as Vicksburg was surrendering to Grant, Lee's forces retreated into Virginia. The high stakes for which Lee had played were totally lost.

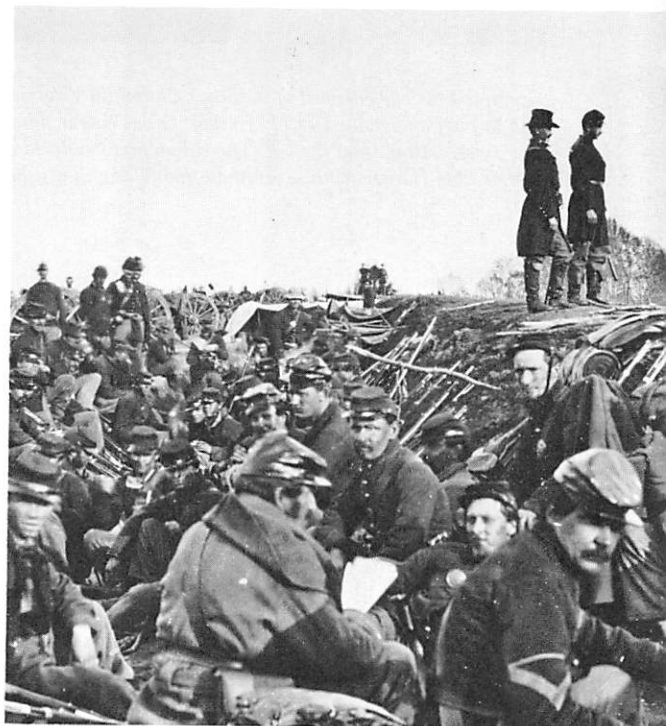
The declining South continues to fight

Had the war been a game of chess, it might well have ended shortly after Gettysburg, but the Southern will to fight lived on for nearly two more years. President Lincoln ordered Grant, now the hero of Vicksburg, east and made him general-in-chief of the Union armies. General William T. Sherman took command of the armies in the west.

Sherman devastates Georgia

Early in 1864, Sherman began moving slowly but cautiously toward Atlanta. The Federals finally entered the city on September 2, 1864, amidst fires and explosions touched off by the fleeing Confederates as they destroyed military supplies. The news of Atlanta's fall was more than welcome to President Lincoln.

In the top photograph on the opposite page, Federal officer George A. Custer (right) poses with his prisoner and former West Point classmate, Confederate officer James Washington. Below (opposite) are generals Francis Barlow, David Birney, and John Gibbon (standing, left to right) and Corps Commander Winfield Scott Hancock, who were instrumental in the Union victory at Gettysburg. Here, Union troops await orders from Grant to begin their offensive against Lee's lines at Petersburg, Virginia.





Grant and his officers meet at Bethesda Church in Virginia to confer and to plan an assault on Cold Harbor. Grant is seated in front of the two trees, second from the left. The Union army suffered a stunning loss at Cold Harbor, with seven thousand falling in just half an hour.

It came in time to bolster a war-weary people's faith in his administration and help assure his reelection. While in Atlanta, Sherman received Lincoln's permission to lead a march from Atlanta to the sea. Sherman's purpose was to demonstrate to the people of the Deep South that it was useless to continue the war.

Sherman's march cut a swath of destruction across Georgia, destroying food, supplies, buildings, and railroad tracks. The Confederates could not stop him. Critics have charged that Sherman was guilty of inhu-

manely making war on helpless civilians, but Sherman saw his actions merely as a means of convincing these civilians that the war must end. In addition, he tried to see to it that his men confined their attention to the destruction of property and that crimes against persons were kept to a minimum.

The fall of Richmond ends the war

As Sherman moved through Georgia, Federal troops in the east were fighting their bloody way toward Richmond. Despite appalling



Mutual need led many freed slaves, like the two pictured here, to return to their former masters for work under a system known as sharecropping. The landowner allowed the tenant the use of a portion of his land in return for a share of the harvest. Meanwhile, credit would be extended to the sharecropper against the profit from the harvest. Soon the sharecropper was in debt, with no recourse but to stay on the land or go to jail.

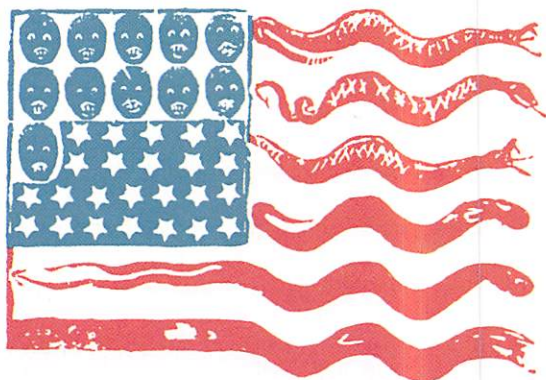
that life could go on as before—except that there would be no more slavery.

There was much work to be done in restoring war-ravaged fields, roads, and towns. Negro labor was needed, but, white Southerners asked themselves, would the freedmen work? Some former slaves engaged in group wandering, visiting the world beyond their old plantations. To live, they simply helped themselves to whatever provisions they could find. Most others, however, found employment with their former masters. Many whites felt an obligation to help the black man, unprepared as he was for freedom and citizenship, but others sought ways of keeping him servile and exploitable. For example, the state governments created under Johnson's Reconstruction policy passed Black Codes limiting the Negroes' freedom of movement and choice of occupation. Such actions, combined with news of race riots instigated by whites dedicated to "keeping the South a white man's country," gave the radicals in Congress the public support necessary to win the 1866 congressional elections. Control of Congress enabled them to override President Johnson's program and substitute their own harsher Reconstruction measures.

Federal troops occupy the South

The first Reconstruction Act (1867) of the radical-dominated Congress abolished the state governments established under Johnson's policy and divided the South into five military districts, each administered under martial law by an army commander. Within these districts, constitutional conventions, chosen by universal manhood suffrage, were to draft state constitutions which would ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, protect the Negroes' new civil and political rights, and strip certain former Confederates of their right to vote and to hold public office. Only when these requirements had been fulfilled to Congress's

'The Nigger-Spangled Banner, or the United States Flag as it is!



Deep resentment by Southern whites at what they felt were discriminatory practices by Congress and the North in general is apparent in cartoons like these. The flag with the Southern states represented by black faces and serpents for stripes reflects the Southerners' belief that Negroes had taken over their state governments. Below, this caricature of a freedman with the label "A Sample Grant Voter" appeared in a Southern newspaper.



satisfaction would it restore to the Southern states full rights of statehood.

Negroes take a part in Southern politics

About twenty thousand Federal occupation troops were stationed throughout the South. Despite this protection, most Negroes were too restricted by habit and dependence upon white landlords and creditors to insist even upon their new voting rights. Some Negroes, however, did vote for the first time, and some were elected to state or national offices. Pinckney Pinchback was elected and served competently as lieutenant governor of Louisiana. Fifteen Negroes were elected to the United States House of Representatives, and two to the Senate. Hiram Revels, black senator from Mississippi, became one of the most respected members of the upper house.

Many of the Northerners who moved South during Reconstruction—called carpetbaggers by the Southerners—did so for monetary gain, but others came as teachers and workers in the Union League, an organization devoted to helping Negroes exercise their voting rights. Some invested money in new Southern industries, and there were some like George Peabody who donated millions of dollars to help develop the region's educational system. Contrary to popular legend, many of the Southerners who cooperated with federal officials and other Northerners—called scalawags and regarded as traitors by die-hard Confederate sympathizers—were men interested in the industrial and commercial development of the South. Like Robert E. Lee, they believed that the South's future lay in opening new economic opportunities which called, in turn, for federal aid and the investment of Northern capital. The Reconstruction state legislatures, dominated for a time by Negroes, carpetbaggers, and white scalawags, faced widespread charges of corruption, but they were probably no more

*Hiram Revels,
senator from Mississippi*

Hiram R. Revels, a free Negro who was born in North Carolina and who moved North, lived in several Northern states and received a degree from Knox College in Illinois. He became an ordained minister and a schoolteacher. During the Civil War, he recruited black soldiers for the Union army and later served as chaplain of a black Union regiment stationed in Mississippi. After the war, he became a "carpetbagger," moving to Mississippi and becoming active in Reconstruction politics. In 1870, Revels was elected to the United States Senate, winning the Mississippi seat formerly occupied by Jefferson Davis.

Revels, addressing the Senate, expressed the following view regarding the goals of his race.

Sir, during the canvass in the State of Mississippi I traveled into different parts of that State, and this is the doctrine that I everywhere uttered: that while I was in favor of building up the colored race I was not in favor of tearing down



the white race. Sir, the white race need not be harmed in order to build up the colored race. The colored race can be built up and assisted as I before remarked, in acquiring property, in becoming intelligent, valuable, useful citizens, without one hair upon the head of any white man being harmed.

On what grounds would many present-day black militants disagree with Revels?

dishonest than many others of the era. Many of their great expenditures were necessary to quickly develop the South's inadequate school, social service, and road systems.

Southerners resist Reconstruction

The resistance of white Southerners to Reconstruction was strong, however, and it increased as it became evident that no drastic

retaliation would result. Southerners could not forget the humiliation of having suffered defeat in a war undertaken with such optimism, nor could they overlook the fact that Northern military occupation of their states was part of the price for having lost. There was always the tendency to compare the present with what might have been, and there was always the matter of the Negro. Many

whites were able to accept the freedmen as fellow citizens and workers, but others could not slough off their lifelong belief in Negro inferiority. This prejudice was encouraged by white Southern office-seekers, many of them former Confederates who regained their political rights under the Amnesty Act of 1872. These men frequently based their appeals for votes upon racist arguments, or upon a glorification of home rule for the South and the assertion that the Negro vote alone kept Reconstructionists in office.

The Ku Klux Klan terrorizes black voters

Southern opposition to the Reconstruction governments took many forms. At first, obstructionists tried to render these state governments ineffectual by refusing to participate in them, but this tactic failed when federal officials simply ignored the Southern dropouts. There followed individual and group efforts to drive Negroes and their white supporters from all facets of public life. Black voters, officeholders, and militiamen were harassed, threatened, and sometimes murdered. Supplies sent to Negro militiamen were sabotaged, and members of the Union League were driven out of their homes. Racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan eventually carried the attacks upon blacks to such savage lengths that a strong segment of white public opinion turned against them, but this did not mean an end to white intimidation of Negroes. Subtler methods, such as the granting or withholding of loans, jobs, or rental property, became increasingly common.

Reconstruction ends with a dubious record

By the end of 1877, Reconstruction had, in narrow political terms, been successful. All of the Southern states had performed the duties outlined in the Reconstruction Acts, all eleven were once again represented in Congress, and the last of the federal occupa-

tion troops had been withdrawn. In a larger sense, however, Reconstruction had been a failure. It had not succeeded in securing for black people the rights set forth in the Fourteenth Amendment. Though freed from slavery, they were burdened with political, social, and economic disabilities which effectively barred them from sharing in the American dream of "everything for all."

Other racial minorities suffered similarly. After the Civil War, the federal government subjugated the pro-Confederate Western Indian tribes and confined them on reservations, forcing them to become dependent on government charity. Chinese laborers whose work made possible the construction of the western half of the transcontinental railroad found themselves either sent home or victimized by the hostility of organized white labor. Expressed ideals and everyday practice were still at tragic variance in the United States.

Americans view the toll of war

Postwar America found itself tired of the reform movements which had attracted so much attention and energy since the 1830's. The war, which men were apt to remember as having been fought to end slavery, had been an exhausting one. More than 600,000 men had died in battle or from war-related causes. Hundreds of thousands more had been wounded or suffered lasting injuries and ill health because of wartime deprivation. Northerners who felt they had fought and suffered for a cause had only to read their newspapers to know that, despite wartime victory, in many ways that cause had not succeeded. Southerners looked back on their great sacrifices for a cause only to remember that the outcome had been defeat and occupation.

Northerners question their own crusade

In addition, once the fervor of the North's